1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

## ENVIRONMENT

### Topography

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 300 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,a) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,b). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-vaka (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (*ava*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Nisa. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

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most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto, and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngutuala*) of Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the courthouse, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

| Village or Reserve | Old Names | Remarks |
|---|---|---|
| Ngake | Pana-ule | 'Erect-penis' |
| | Te Yawea | — |
| | Te Langaikula | Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals. |
| | Kilimanu | 'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko. |
| Loto | Avalua | Name of legendary land. |
| | Kotipolo | 'Cutting of polo leaves'. |
| | Yaemata | — |
| Yato | Takamuni | 'Circle'? |
| | Ulelawa | 'Penis-of-sennit'? |
| Motu Kotawa | Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki | Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki* |
| Motu Ko | Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki | Long-isle-of-Mataliki* |

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

## PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

* Mataliki (*mata ariki*, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage god supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matariki (*mata iiki*, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole I-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



109 There are names for every section of land, reef, and beach on the atoll, indicating the close association of the Pukapukan with his environment. The most important place names are marked on the accompanying maps (fig. 1, *a*, *b*), [illegible]

## Climate

132 Records for the years 1930-35 (21) show that the mean temperature ranges between 80.9 and 83.9 degrees F., maximum temperature between 86.8 and 92, minimum temperature between 67 and 75 degrees. The average maximum absolute temperature throughout the year is 90.2 degrees and the average minimum absolute temperature is 67.4 degrees. Both minimum and maximum temperatures vary but slightly from month to month throughout the year, and the climate in this respect is equable.

For the period of record, the annual rainfall varies between 113 and 156 inches with an average of 128.41 inches. The season of heaviest rainfall is October to March, but heavy rains are recorded for April and May (1932, 1934), May and June (1931). In January 1935, after three days of continuous rain, 10 inches of rain fell in the next 24 hours. The amount and distribution of rainfall are important in the cultivation of swamp talo. A heavy rain floods the talo beds. After a heavy rain, the most desired weather is shady, cloudy skies, for if the rain is followed by brilliant sunshine for several days the submerged talo swamps may be heated to such a temperature before the water drains into the ground that the talo is killed. During the dry months, May to September, the rainfall is generally insufficient to bring talo to maturity. In bad years, the talo swamps may dry up altogether and most of the tubers die. It then requires from 6 to 12 months before the new tubers are mature enough for food. Conditions brought about by scanty rainfall must often in Pukapukan history have approached a state of virtual famine. The diet on such occasions as these would be fish and nuts exclusively. With each adult on the island consuming from 7 to 10 nuts daily, and children proportionately fewer, the available supply of eating nuts must soon get very low.

132 244 132 731 262

132 Records for the year 1932 indicate prevailing winds from west through northeast blowing for 115 days in the year, from east through southwest for 226 days in the year. From May to October the prevailing winds (the trades) come from the east and southeast, and from November to April from the north and northwest. The northerly winds are much more variable than the trade winds, and the period from November to April is a time of storms, heavy winds, gales, and electrical disturbances. Pukapuka is just outside the regular hurricane belt, but there are records of severe visitations. A "tidal wave", probably accompanying a hurricane, which devastated the island about 300 years ago is mentioned in traditional history (p. 386). The

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1. [See p. 18, category 116 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the taro swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the taro beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

### Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kaitua, Manuka, Malaegai, Malaegai tonga, Tonga, Mullienga, Kee, and Pua.
Loto: Wakalua.
Yato: Tokolau iti, Tokolau matua, Wakatiu, Palaga, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Nina and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

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## ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

### CONTROL OF WEALTH

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In former times, the island as a whole apparently did not function in the control of land, reefs, or other native wealth. Today, however, there are on Wale five talo beds (*si*) which are controlled by the island. These are termed *si motua*. After the tidal wave of 1914, the Island Council divided some of the talo lands owned by the maternal lineages among all the people of the island in order to tide over a temporary food shortage. These lands have remained under the control of the whole island since that time. Their names are: Ui lua wunui (2 beds), Ui alapai, Ui kolonui, Ui angatonu.

In economic matters today as formerly, the ultimate controlling units are the village groups. These are independent of each other and may utilize their lands and reefs in any way they wish; in practice, however, they all conform to the same pattern of control.

### VILLAGE PROPERTY

#### REEFS

423 621 226

The barrier reef (*te oyanga lua*) and all fishing grounds on the reef, inside and outside the lagoon, are divided among the villages as follows:

The reef from Wale to Matauta, the northern point of Motu Ko, belongs to Ngake; no men or canoes other than those of Ngake are allowed on or near this part of the reef. The reef between Matauta, the western point of Motu Ko, and Motu Kotawa is divided into halves (*itu*), one half belonging to Ngake, the other to Yato. The reef fishing from Motu Kotawa to Wale belongs to Yato, but because lagoon fishing in former times was controlled by Ngake, the men of Yato could fish only outside this reef. Without permission from Ngake villagers men of Yato could not go to their reserve by canoe across the lagoon but had either to coast along the outside of the reef or to walk along the reef shelf. The outer, northern reef, running round the reserve of Niua (the northwestern side of Wale) as far as the boundary of the Loto reserve of Uta, was controlled by Yato; the outer reef from this point to the eastern boundary of Uta was controlled by Loto; the rest of the reef running past Utuoa to the main reef was controlled by Ngake. Each village had the right to the beach and lagoon fishing on its own shore (*tukutai*). The rest of the lagoon away from the village frontages belonged to Ngake.

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The control of reefs, though apparently weighted heavily against the village of Loto, worked with a certain flexibility. The men of Ngake announced at frequent intervals to the men of the other two villages that they might fish in the lagoon for one moon. At the end of the period the lagoon was tapu for all save Ngake men. All economic tapus (*lawi*) were supported by supernatural sanctions. The two villages benefiting by this generosity took gifts of food, usually nuts and talo, to Ngake in payment for benefits received. Special gifts were sometimes given as when Yato made an expedition to Motu Kotawa and returned with extra supplies of *takupu* birds (tern).

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lasi*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukamo* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the taro beds. *Pukamo* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukamo* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the taro, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukamo* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named taro beds (*ai tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl.1,*A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake taro beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new taro beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, mats, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*haku ki luuga o te ulu*).

There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

Cultivation further consists in weeding (*lauga-i te vuyamaya ai*) and fertilizing (*mahaipo* or *tilihee*) the talo beds:

The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are trampled into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *puhanua* leaves, *lau koonoa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*palapala*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *puhanua* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is trampled in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *puhanua* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

In the old days a little dryland talo (*kapa*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

Taki te tingapula: the cutting is planted.
Fe laa, laa tupu te alaa o te wawa: 1st day, the roots grow.
Fe tala, laa vela te lau: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Fe lima, laa lau te lito o te laau: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Fe lagaulu, laa vela te lito wau: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Tuuyoo atu, laa laau lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kua vela aua te ulu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
Kua laa tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kua laau wa: (22nd day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
Kua laa lima: (25th day) there are five petioles growing.
Kua wakalaungawali: (29th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kua toaki te laau laua, laa uyi, laa tupu aual ohi te laa laaua, laa ono laa talo, laa olu: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six spare leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kua atoato ki luuga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Kua olu laa ki luuga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kua calau te ulu: (1st month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kua mafuga te tuuvee: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Ohu ki te vevenga o te tuuvee: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kua lolo, laa vaaeaka: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



613 771 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 591 621 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunea, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 731 173 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

[823] Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

764 848 One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

[851] The child (*tama to taha*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

613 597 764 177 X is a *tama to taha*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his matrilineal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father, and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kaialalou, which they found still full of oil.

## THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou waka-natanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lapu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *paa*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalonga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamenga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Maliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Leto lineages of Tua and Yangafipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

## PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

### Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia nakemoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*uvea*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

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that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieila, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukivaga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lovi*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

### The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*tuhaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan



It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tuiknalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture:[1]

Tuiva was a child of Tacuga, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuilavanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused. "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 1K, pp. 395-399 -- analyst.]